APPENDIX 5.2

HYPOTHESISED PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SOME INDIVIDUAL PAMA-NYUNGAN LANGUAGES OF THE SOUTHEAST

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Summary lists, for each language, of etyma in Appendix 5.1 include all with an entry for the language in question, regardless of phonological regularity or potential loan status.


Nouns of the form *CVCV acquire a termination ng (see Hale 1976d for a hypothesis as to the mechanism): binang < *pina, dirrang ~ jirrang < *rirra, jarrang “leg, thigh” < *carra, jayang “mouth” < *ca:ya, jinang < *cina, kunang < *kuna, kalang < *ka:la, malung < *malu, miñang < *miña. There are several sets of exceptions:

Some show evidence of some other augment: bula(ː) ~ bulay (*pula), kanay “yamstick” (*kana), gula: “anger” (*kuli), murru(ː) “nose” (pCNSW *muru[ng]), dulgu(ː) “heart” (*lulu; Yidiny dulgu “heart”), dumirrgan “chest” (cf. pPaman *tumu; Djabugay dumu “chest”), jagun < *ta:ku, janabung “they” (*cana), kumarr “blood” (eastern *kuma; cf. Bidyara guma ‘blood’, Diyari kumarrhi ‘blood’), ŋangga(rr) “sun; day” and ŋanggay “day, daytime, sun time; hot/time; hot; heat from sun” (*ŋangka; Dardidardi nhangg “sun”), ngama: “female breast” (*ngama), ngaña/i “me” (*ngaña/i), ngayu(l) (also ngay; see below) “I” (*ngayu), ngurra(n) “dingo” (*ngurra; Margany nguda “dog”), bugaw “stink” (*puka). These behave like nouns for which there is comparative evidence for a *CVCV origin: kulan “possum” (pPaman *kulan), yalañ “tongue” (*calañ), ngamin “breasts” (*ngamini).
A few appear to have lost \( {\text{V}}_2 \): jun “penis, tail” (Paman *cu(:)nV; pKarnic *cun; Wiradjuri dhun “penis; tail”), kung “water” (*kungu; Awu-Laya ngo “water”, Kabi kung “water”), nga:n ~ nge:n- (*nga:ni), ngay “I” (*ngayu).

A number come through as CVCV, unchanged: kami (*kami), gurri “Aborigine” (*kurri; Pintupi kurri “spouse, mate”), julu “fire, smoke” (*ya\(\lambda\)u), julba “belly” (*culpi), karru “stone” (*karru; Pintupi karru “creek; creek sand”), mala “hand” (pPaman *mala), ñula/e/i “he” (pPaman ñula; cf. ñulagan “she”), ngadhu “I” (*ngacu), ngali (*ngali), yamba “home” (pPaman yampa), yurri “meat” (*yuri; Bidyara yurdi “animal; meat”). Of these, at least some of the nouns are likely loanwords; the pronouns require study in the context of their places in the case and person-number paradigms. Also, it is possible that gender suffixes have created pressure to analyse suffixless forms as vowel-final.

The attestation of vowel length in disyllables is equivocal: nga:n ~ nge:n- “who; someone” (*nga:ni), vs. jayang “mouth” (*ca:ya) and jagun (*ta:ku).

Initial coronal consonants continue with fluctuation possibly due to dialect variation:


jalu “flame” < *ya\(\lambda\)u, but yan- “go” < *ya(n)-, yamba “home” (*yampa; but poss. a loan), yurri “meat” (*yuri; poss. a loan).

jirrang ~ dirrang ~ diyang “teeth” < *rirra, duwa- ~ juwa- “dig” < *ruwa, but dung(g(a))- “cry” < *runga-

dalgay “dry” < *lalka, but juka- “swallow” < *luka-

cagun “country” < *ta:ku.


*CVCVC > CV-CV:C, as in jala:n “mouth” < *calañ.

*CVCVCV > CVCVC, as in ganay “yamstick” < *kana with augment *y(V?), binañ “vagina” < *pina with augment *ñ(V?). The form yarrang
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“there; that” (< *yarra with augment *ng(V)?) is suspect because *rr is expected to continue as the glide r in this position (see below).

*VrrV > VrV, as in *carra (“thigh”), *rirra (also ngu:ra “camp” < *ngurra).


Intervocalic *l remains in **buljeja** < *pula, jali- < *calañ, (ng)ali- < *ngali.

Syllable-final *l > r in **mir** “eye” > *mi:l, **gurngga** “heavy” (pPaman *kulngkul), and possibly also in **darma** “hard” (cf. Yir-Yoront la:lp, la:pa “hard”); With these compare **wil** “curlew” (*wi:rlu, as in Pintupi wi:rlu). In Woiwurrung “eye” is reported as **mirn**, and in Madhimadhi “eye” is attested only in its 3rd-person possessed form **mirnu** “his eyes”. If *mir underlies these, and if the form **galg(-ji** “stick” in both languages continues *kalka, as attested in Paman languages meaning “spear”, then there is a discrepancy in the treatment of syllable-final l. However, it is likely that the source of **galg(-j** was not *kalka but a trisyllable of the form **kalakV**, as continued in Gippsland **galvg** “stick” and possibly also Kala Lagaw Ya **klak** “spear”, Plural **kœlakal**.

Intervocalic *rr > y after *i in **liya** < *rirra and remains elsewhere, as in jerriga “stand” < *ca(-):ra-. Wergaia, Madhimadhi, and Woiwurrung apparently show the same pattern.

Initial *r > l in **liya** < *rirra.

Initial *c, *ñ are alveopalatal, as in jerriga < *ca(-):ra-, jali- < *calañ, jina < *cina, ñaga “see” < *ña- (also ñula “that one now” < *ñula [Warrgamay ñula-ngga “s/he Ergative], ñaña “what, how” < *ña(:) [Pintupi ña: “what”]).

Intervocal *c is dental, as in badhema “taste it” < *pa:ca-, **midha(g)** “rain” < *mica(ra).


*CVCV > *CV:C in nouns, i.e. in words with an unsuffixed citation-form, as in thi:r “tooth” (if < *rirra), ma:r “sister” < *ma:ri, nga:c “totem” (if < *ngaci), ma:y “grandparent” < *mayi, ngu:k “water” < *nguku. A Yaraldi noun with a short vowel and a corresponding *CVCV etymon is suspect as a loan: kun “excrement” (*kuna), mar- “hand” (given in Taplin as mari, i.e. mar with singular marker –i, and in Medonald as [mara]; *mara), miña “what” (*miña).

*V1 apparently remains regularly short in reflexes of *CVCVC, as in thalang < *cala(n), and of *CVCCV, as in kañc (length attestation equivocal) “urine” < kañc'i, penth “smell (vi)” < *pañc'i- (Diyari panth'a- “smell”), kayk “spear” < *kalka (pPaman) or *kalakV, mangk “down” (if < *mangka).

Attestation of initial coronal consonants is sparse and equivocal:

*r > th in thi:r “tooth” < *rirra.

*r (or possibly *t) > l in lak “spear, pierce” < *taka- (Diyari daka-).

*c > th in thalang < *cala(n), tha- “eat” < *ca-, but the t in tar-uk “lower leg”, if < *carra, is unexpected.

Intervocalic *r and *l are preserved in ma:r “sister” < *ma:ri and thalangk “tongue” < *calan, respectively; but intervocalic *rr becomes a glide in thi:r “tooth” < *rirra.